almost constant success. He gained memora ble victories at the Kaifat, the Sundscha, and

bined movements from Tiffis and Stawropol. The two attacking columns were to meet in the midst of Caucasus; but they were not allowed to get even within sight of each other— one being defeated by Sham'yl in the Kuban without any advantages, except some spoils. Shamyl on his part, undertook now some aggressive operations into the enemy's country. He defeated several Russian detachments, and carried off from the allies of Russia, the Kamucks, 40 000 head of cattle, much other provision, and a great quantity of ammunit

But still greater reverses did the Russians suffer, under the campaign of 1842. General Grabbe, who had improdently entered the immense forest that extends at the sides of the Akfai, suffered an almost sunihilating defeat on the left bank of that river. From this event, until the year 1845, the Russians remained on the defensive.

In 1845, the Russian forces in the Caucast were increased as much as to number 160,000 men, over whom the Czar appointed General Count Wororzow commander-in-chief. It was now announced, for the fourth or fifth time, in the Russian journals, that the struggle Caucasus was to be brought to a speedy end. The Russians themselves were fully confident that the mountaineers would now have to sub-The success which accompanied the first movements on their part, confirmed their hope of accomplishing the so long in vain attempted subjugation of Caucasus. The resistance of the few mountaineers who dared to oppose the invasion of the Russians was very beble. This was interpreted as an evidence that the Circassians were in want of powder, and that Shamyl was occupied in quenching the flames of internal discord, which, it was reported, had broken out in several places. But the aspect of affairs underwent a perfect change, as soon as the Russian troops had the vicinity of Dargo. A terrible and bloody number of trees which they had out down, being much exposed themselves to the fire of the Russians. Dargo itself had been laid in ashes; but upon a high mountain in the vicinity had Shamyl, with 6,000 of his best war-riors, taken up his position. Five times the Russians attempted to force their way over the obstacles which opposed their advance, but were compelled by the fire of the mountaincors each time to retrace their steps, leaving hind them more than half their number dead or dying. But forced by their brave leader to renew the attack for the sixth time the Russians succeeded at last in overstepping all obstacles, and ascending the mountain; but when they reached it, Shamyl and his with the view of stopping the advance of the Russian army, but with a very different object in view. While he was thus occupying Coun Woronzow, the main body of his troops, under the leadership of the brave Ulabay Mullah attacked and captured the greatest part of a The less which he thus sustained compelled Woronzow, who had no other means at hand for the support of his numerous troops, to turn around and direct his steps towards the place

But his retreat was not left as unmolested as his army, if not at the most dangerous place in the valley of Akfai, where General Grabbe three years before had suffered so terrible a

om which he had issued.

Russians changed again their made of warfare expeditions to distant places or of decisive sian tribes, by attacking with axes and fire the rimeval woods of their native mountains, that

1845, the poesessions of the Russians have un-questionably been somewhat extended in that agement of Count Woronzow; still Shamyl has shown himself equally terrible as ever, and quired in battle against several Generals of the

Shamyl is endowed with many of the highcountry, with small and irregular forces, against and when to strike his blows, which seldom fail to cause destruction where they fall. As the chivalrous Abdel Kader was peculiarly qualifiie means which the nature of his native counhas assigned the task of bending the stiff nock of proud Caucasus, under the Russian yoke. Equally enthusiastic for the freedom of his naive mountains as was the noble Bedouin chief-Kader has to bewail the dominion of France over the plains and shadowy recesses in defence of Russia, and of avenging, by new victories over the hereditary enemy, the long sufferings sian Generals, Nastorow, Dolgorucky, Dargulinsky, and Dadianoff, have respectively suffered defeats from the hands of the indefatigable Mursebid, whose late reverse, of which I spoke in a previous letter, will probably soon be re-

shamyl has introduced many useful and praiseworthy reforms among the mountaineers, whose obstinacy and fondness to adhere to the ancient usages and customs of their ancestors but for his spiritual authority as the vicegerent of Heaven, and the Murschid or Pope of the Sufi sect, which now prevails in Caucasus. It is casian nobility, and introduce a more demo- tion of New York congratulates the country on It is easy to see that, had the example of eratic equality; but it is by his insinuating per- the beneficent operation of the measure, and the Western States been followed by the exercises over his own temper, that he has inthemselves of, or at least suppress, the religious ognition of "popular sovereignty." They for- party distinctions, and fusing themselves into these respective sects, and which had been the cause of so much bloodshed on both sides.

Shamyl has surrounded himself with a guard consisting of 1,000 mea, all of whom are Marides. He has also under his command still hangs over the struggle. If the People thus demonstrated its power, the next step would a regular force, numbering 6,000 horsemen. succeed, they may thank themselves for the have been the calling of a Republican or Peo-It would appear that that corps furnishes offi-cers to the militia, when called to arms and employed in active service. Shamyl is said to his dignity, and without which no person can, in the Eastern world, preserve and increase his authority. Too much condessension is far more dangerous than even cruelty on is far more dangerous than even cruelty, on the part of a personage of elevated rank. Sha- as the independence of these States may be set alent to their election, and for once the Anti-

then engaged in private consultations with the Prophet, or with Allah himself. As soon as Shamyl makes his appearance again, he convokes his most confidential adherents, and comvokes his most confidential adherents, and com-municates to them his resolutions, which are received as heavenly revelations.

It is said that Shamyl is no hypocrite; but he believes, agreeable to the Sufi-doctrine, that

his own meditations are divine inspirations, in-fused in him in order to direct him how in the best way to accomplish his divine mission. We may, however, not commit any great injustice in looking upon him as somewhat of a hypo-crite, and somewhat of a fanatic, descriving But it is, indeed, this which makes him still more formidable as the military chieftain of a half-civilized people, the more ready to sacri-fice its blood in the most desperate struggles, as it supposes itself being under the leadership of a particular favorite and confident of Heaven. Shamyl is described as a man of rather low stature, with fair hair and gray eyes, possessing an expressive countenance, beaming with ing an expressive countenance, beaming with intelligence and courage, a small mouth, a straight nose, small hands and feet, and a firm step. His tranquillity of mind and calm appearance remain unchanged, even in the midst

at public meetings to the people, his face seems as if his soul were all fire. Then, the Circas-sians say that "flames issue forth from his eyes and flowers from his mouth." The alliance which a few days ago was concluded between the Sultan of Turkey and Sha-myl, in behalf of the Cauca sian population, is, in the present state of Oriental affairs, of much importance, and might have the result of including the Circassian tribes in the general pacification which sooner or later must neces-scrily take place between the Czar and the the triumph of seeing the freedom of his nawle mountains acknowledged by that mighty mon-arch who has, for so long a period of time, made them the theatre of one of the most memorable wars of modern times. Yes; may the great Caucasian chieftain

struggle ensued now between the invaders and the mountaineers, who, covered by the great by his genius, his firmness, and his heroism, acquired the blessings of peace to the mount ains and valleys which he loves so well!

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1854.

Week after next, we shall commence the publication of Mr. Herbart's long-promised

news this week, we lay before our readers a very interesting account of Shamyl and the warriors had disappeared. Still, this struggle very interesting account of Shamyl and the

During these hard times, it is quite re- | ment placed on the side of Liberty. freshing to get a club of new subscribers now and then. Some of our friends are active. In Russian transport of provisions and ammuni- a little while, we shall get out our regular annual circular, and begin the work of renewing

THE WORK TO BE DONE-TITE OBSTACLES-

dividing the region, exempted by it from Sla-chusetts have been filled by men of sound prin- a National Whig Convention. Who will atvery, into two Territories, the Slaveholders had ciple : in a word, after the next session of Con- tend? Delegates from the very Anti-Slavery gen. Attacked in the rear and at the sides, in two objects in view-first, the conversion of one gress, the entire delegation from New England Whige of Massachusetts and Vermont, to hold Worozzw lost every day a great number of his of these to the uses of Slave Labor; secondly, in the Senate of the United States will be a friendly conference and agree upon a common the increase of their political power and the unit on the side of Freedom. So far as that platform with the Badgers and Claytons of though important. They were not sure that it plished in its representation in the other branch up its name and disbanded its old organiza-

more advisable to attempt reducing the Cauca- then, was to defeat them on this point. North- make room for consistent and determined op- National Convention-and then another, an ern demagogues said there was no dangerby carrying on a systematic aggressive war of little practical interest. Had they succeeded had the opportunity to give an authoritative the support of a majority in every Southern gainst themselves. The plan thus adopted, if in fulling the apprehensions of the North, the expression of its will—and that, a State from State. The old game over again—the free pursued with vigor for a long series of years, Slaveholders would have accomplished what which little was to be expected; but even Iowa States, all-powerful, if united, divided into they intended; Northern immigration would has been redeemed the Anti-Slavery senti- contending factions, and therefore powerless have been retarded, while the owners of slaves, ment having obtained the control of the Legis- before the weaker South, acting as a unit! myl is allowed to remain alive, the Czar will having plenty of time for exchange of reci- lature and the Executive, and certainly elect. Another Pro-Slavery Administration, brought surcely over ca joy the triumph of calling the dence, and secure against all disturbance, ed one Representative to Congress, if not the into power by the insensate divisions of the would have gradually insinuated themselves other. If such a change has been wrought by North, engendered and kept alive by blind into Kansas, and made it a slave State. Such the prevailing agitation in such a State, what bigotry, white-livered conservatism, and selfwould have been the result, had the representparter, chiefly by the prodent and able man- ations of Mr. Douglas and the quietism of Mr. West? Everett determined public opinion at the

Car, and in successful expeditions, undertaken sighted enough to forcese all this, and they by the united action of Whig, liberal Demo- tion, so auspiciously commenced. The mainaroused the People of the free States, by showing that material interests of vast importance become slave territory, unless prevented by distinct organization. In Maine and Vermont, It is not too late to correct the error; but is part. The Bill passed, but the People had States strong efforts were made to maintain ed devotion to the cause of Human Rights in been prepared. Their imperative duty, they the old Whig organization. In Massachusetts, the free States to compel a general recognition had been lost by had legislation-to colonize separate organization, with co-operation, is ated to lead the wild horsemen of the African the endangered Territory with settlers who by tempted. In Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, fast whereunto they have attained." The Territory, and hundreds more are on their

of his country. Even during this year, the Rus- dom have done well, acting vigorously and interpose against all legislative reform, and Ex- organizations when a practical gain for Freewisely; but the work is not completed-the

The Northern supporters of the Administration are impudent enough to claim this free opponents of Slavery should keep up old politicolonization of the Territories as the legitimate result of the Nebraska Bill. The Soft Conven- new one, is of vital importance. ult over this gain to Freedom as from the rec- and Independent Democrats, putting aside all get that the Missouri Compromise had secured a new party, this question would have been to Freedom that which the free States, by its solved without difficulty, and in the right way.

repeal, are driven to regain by the most stren- Such a Party would of course carry the State triumph, and the Administration for the perils | ple's National Convention, to take measures to which they have been exposed, and the labor | for effecting the same kind of change in the well to know how to command the respect due | it has cost them to recover for Liberty that of | Federal Administration, as had been effected

tical question connected with Slavery to act Convention, nominated a Whig candidate, and

They are either blind, or wicked, or both. was but one object of the Slaveholders, and the Party. subordinate one. Their great object was, to strengthen their political power, and facilitate platform was just as Anti-Slavery as anybody lot for the office of Governor, and Mr. Raytheir settled policy of aggression and supremacy. And this they hoped to attain, by repeal-

a Principle, in virtue of which whatever acqui- to maintain their Whig organization. sitions of territory might thereafter be made, of the greatest dangers. Only when he speaks | ceive from such a triumph, to force the North- zation, and affect wonder that all sincere Freeto carry out. Its Northern supporters find it convenient to ignore it; and there are men in the free States, who were really offended by the passage of the Nebraska Bill, now stupid enough to forget, if, indeed, they ever understood it. For once, the majority of the People of those States seemed to gain a clear insight into the real meaning of the Slave Power. They regarded the act, not as an isolated one as would provide security for the future.

This is the work to which the People of the free States turned their attention, when it beame evident that the Nebraska Bill was to pass, as an Administration measure, by Administration influence: This is the work in which they have been engaged ever since, and which will be completed only when Congress shall have been purged of treason and servility, and the Administration of the Federal Govern-

The first fruit of the new movement was the defeat of the Administrations forces in New Hampshire; the latest result, the disorganization and prostration of the Hunker Democracy in Maine. Two Anti-Nebraska Senators will he sent from New Hampshire: two have been elected from Connecticut: one will be chosen from Vermont, to take the place of a submis-In repealing the Missouri Compromise, and signist: the vacancies from Maine and Massa-

may we not expect from the other States of the seeking demagoguism!

should the Bill pass, Kansas would inevitably eration, the parties severally retaining their this beneficent work almost on the threshold. well-directed and determined action on their it assumed the form of fusion, although in both | there enough of common sense and disinterestfeit, was, to supply, by voluntary action, what Pennsylvania, and New York, the policy of of the true policy? ganizations.

or it will prove a failure.

In view of all this, the question whether the cal organizations, or resolve themselves into a

upon: why agitate it any longer? Let us have intend to keep up a Whig Party. The Free and twenty-feur delegates, the Know Nothings, done with sectionalism, and once more move or Independent Democrats will co-operate in it is stated, numbered twenty-two. The Silver together, an unbroken, harmonious, Democrat- the election of Pollock, and the Liberal Demcerats will help him indirectly-but, after the election, there will be a Whig Party, a Demo-Convention, but failed. Such is the state lent The appropriation of Kansas to Slave Labor cratic Party, and an Independent Democratic of the Seward papers.

In Vermont, the Whigs claimed that their could wish; were quite willing, however, to countenance a general movement, with the ing a law which evidently involved the assump- understanding that their candidates should be tion that Slavery is an evil, and by establishing adopted, and now, we presume, are determined

In Massachusetts, where political controver their claim to continue or institute Slavery sies have engendered a great deal of personal therein should forever be unchallenged. Con- ill will, the Whigs claim that their party is fidently did they expect, on the strength of Anti-Slavery enough, their ticket Anti-Slavery the impulse they were sure they would re- enough. They stand stiffly in the old organimediate designs upon Cuba. This was the candidates. The Independent Democrats were tion; the rest are devoted to the Slavery timescherished policy of the Slave Power-this, the anxious for a reorganization of parties-were tion, and are as follows: policy which the Administration was pledged willing to give up their distinctive name and machinery of action-made overtures for a general Convention of all opponents of Slavery and the Nebraska iniquity. An organization under such auspices, they said truly, would absorb all the Liberal Democrats of the State, besides comprehending Whigs and distinctive Free-Soilers, and its nominations would sweep the State by unprecedented majorities. Who doubted it? But their overtures were not as the offspring of accident, caprice, or any rejected, and the separate action of the Whigs temporary cause, but as at once the offspring compelled them to separate action. Of course, and evidence of a settled policy of aggression | so strong is the Anti-Nebraska sentiment in and expansion on the part of the Slave Power, Massachusetts, that it will find expression in growing out of its necessities, its habits, and State affairs, despite the division; but look stingts, resistance to which was a duty, cost beyond November, and tell us how that great what it might. If they could not prevent the State will then be prepared to make herself passage of the act, their plain duty was, to felt in the work of regenerating the National punish all who aided or abetted its passage, Administration? For the hundredth time we thereby obtaining at least partial indemnity for repeat, what nothing but stolid ignorance will the past, and to place such men in the Federal gainsay, that Independent Democrats and Lib-Legislature and in the Executive Department eral Democrats have no faith in a National Whig party, and will not support a National

Whig party. Let us look ahead, then. The Free States have all voted, and returned to Congress a majority of Anti-Nebraska members. You, old politicians, have succeeded in preserving a Whig organization in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Vermont, and New Hampshire: but in so doing, you have perpetuated in each of those States the Democratic and the Independent Democratic organizations. On the other hand. in Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Maine, the Whig organization has disappeared, the old Democratic party is known as the Slavery Party, the triumphant organization is the Republican Party.

What will you do, then? National Conventions will be proposed for the nomination of Presidential candidates. Suppose you call furtherance of their schemes for universal em- section has yet had an opportunity to act, the the South! And delegates from the Western pire. The former object was subordinate, al. same work of reformation has been accom. States, representing a party that, having given or hereafter to be acquired, the Whigs of New could be accomplished; but, Kansas was in the of the Federal Legislature. Macdonald, who tion, will have to seek for its adherents in the same latitude as Missouri, possessed a soil voted for the Nebraska Bill, Fuller, who play- great Republican party, and get up a process adapted to slave labor, was easily accessible to Slaveholders, and there was a fair prospect of the measure, although he voted finally that they might be able to colonize and organ-against it, and Farley, a Hunger Whig, who, after his vote against it, betrayed a willingness thing to do with such a Convention? No. The first duty of the friends of Freedom, to acquiesce, have all been thrust aside, to There would be another called-a Republican Administration, or Baltimore Democracy Con-Out of New England, but one free State has vention, the last of which would command

The dissolution of the Whig Party, and the How have these results been accomplished? reorganization of the political power of the By a union of the opponents of Slavery, and of free States in a Party of Freedom, would have The opponents of the measure were clear- the Administration, which is but its organ- completed the Anti-Slavery political regeneracrats, and Free-Soilers or Independent Demo- tenance of this Party in some of these States, crats. In New Hampshire, Connecticut, and with the consequent division of Northern politiwere really involved in the question-that, lows, the union has been one, chiefly of co op- cal power it has kept up, threatens to arrest

serts to the most impetuous charges against local enactment would re-impose the Anti-Sla- and Wisconsin, an effort, quite successful on Republican Party, or the Morrill Democracy, very restriction withdrawn by Congress. Our the whole, has been made to unite all the elereaders have been kept well informed in re- ments of opposition into one Party, under the nant Party, in Maine. Henceforth, let it act try offers for resisting with a small number of gard to this practical movement. Hundreds of title, Republican, in disregard of all former or- as a unit, in utter disregard of the several organizations out of which it has been formed. Now, were the only object to be accomplish- In Vermont and Massachusetts, "fusion" has way. The Slavery-extensionists on the bor- ed, the punishment of mis-representatives from gone so far as to bring considerable numbers ders of Missouri have threatened terrible the free States, and their substitution by true from the Whigs and Old Line Democrats to tain for the independence of his arid deserts, his things, but the only effect of their bullying thus representatives, it would matter little how the act with the Independent Democracy, under oases, and his dadle groves, Shamyl has been far has been to stimulate the immigration they work were done, whether by the co-operation the general title of Republicans. Let them were anxious to arrest, until at last the Slave- of existing organizations, or union in a new or- maintain their organization. In Connecticut, holders begin to doubt whether they may not ganization. But, this is not the only object. Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, of which he performed so many glorious deeds risk too much in the attempt to transfer Throw an Anti-Slavery majority into the House New York, where no such of arms as to immortalize his name, Shamyl "property" so questionable as human beings of Representatives, and let the Administration into the new Territory. remain under the control of Slavery, and the pendent Democracy will preserve its organiza-In this respect, then, the friends of Free- work is but half done-the Executive veto will tion, always ready to co-operate with other ecutive influence will undermine your repre- dom is to be effected, and willing at any mo-Slavery-propagandists are busy-the Adminis- sentative majority. In Congress you will be ment to give up its name and organization, tration is with them-its appointments are with | baffled, and at home confronted and defied by | when one or both of the other Parties, or them-to relax effort now, would be to lose a powerful and active Party, vitalized by Ex- large section of either, will consent to do likeall that has been gained. Let the work of free ecutive patronage. The movement now on wise, and unite with it in a Party of Freedom. colonization be prosecuted till the People of foot in the free States must embrace in its In the Western States, the Republican Party the Territory, acting through their Represent scope an Anti-Slavery revolution of the Admin- has a more definite form than anywhere else, atives, shall have signified authoritatively their istration, as well as of the Federal Legislature, and, whatever the results of the fall elections, will continue its operations. Some of the Whigs who have contributed to organize it, may be drawn off by attempts to reorganize the old Whig Party; and some of the Democrats who for a time were associated with them, may fall back into the ranks of the Administration, Slavery Party-but let us hope that the great majority of both classes will continue united with the Independent Democrats, in an organization which has already accomplished much, promises to accomplish still more, and furnishes now the only ground of hope for an effective National movement for the regeneration of the Federal Government.

The ultimate result of this consistent straight-forward, determined policy may be the abandonment of the vague idea of another Whig dynasty, and the union of all the opponents of the Slave Power in a general Convention for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. So mote it be!

is far more daugerous than even cruelty, on the part of a personage of clevated rank. Charactery of the part of a personage of clevated rank. Charactery of the part of a personage of clevated rank. Charactery of the part of a personage of clevated rank. Charactery of the part of a personage of clevated rank. Charactery of the public, is always surrounded with a splendid body of horsements and many important decision is to be taken the new inherance of the Stamp Act, Tea Tax, and Boston Port Bill.

But, the Northern supporters of the Administration, not content with putting up this important decision is to be taken the principle of the billing of the country would find its state of the Common, is now being enclosed by a beautiful interval of the country would find its state of the Stamp Act, Tea Tax, and Boston Port Bill.

But, the Northern supporters of the Administration, not content with putting up this important decision is to be taken the principle of the billing of the principle of the billing of the country would find its state of the Common, is now being enclosed by a beautiful into fance of Christianity. But, the resolution of Boston this year is the function by Congress with the principle of the builty and beautiful into fance of Christianity. But, the Northern supporters of the Administration of the country would find its state of the Stavery of the the influence of Christianity. But, the principle of the builty and beautiful into fance of Christianity. But, the principle of the builty state of the Common, is now being enclosed by a beautiful into fance of the set of the Stavery of the the country would find its state of the Stavery of the Common, is now being enclosed by a beautiful into fance of the builty state of the Stavery of the tree of Slavery of the the country would find its state of the Stavery of the country would find its state of the Stavery of the Common, is now being enclosed by a beautiful into fance of the set of the Stavery of the the country would find its state of the Stavery of t

by the friends of Mr. Seward. Of one hun red Grays did what they could, by affiliating with them, to secure an anti-Seward majority in the

Myron H. Clark, a hardware merchal's of Canandaigua, was nominated on the third balmond, of the New York Daily Times, for Lieut. Governor-both Seward men. Mr. Clark is said to be a thorough Anti-Slavery man, and committed to the policy of the Maine Li juor Law. Mr. Raymond may be so, too, by paper is sometimes point-no-point.

Of the resolutions adopted, one approve, the Whig policy of the State in relation to the completion of the canals; one denounce the Presidential veto of the River and Harbor Bill: ern People to assent to, if not aid in, their im- Soilers do not unite with them, and upon their New York to the Federal Union and Con Situ-

> " Resolved, That the passage by the fra ners of the Constitution and the fathers of the Republic, of the Ordinance of 1787, clearly estabished as a cardinal principle with them, that Slavery should be forever prohibited in the Territories of the United States. Resolved, That we cordially approve of the

firm and manly stand of the Whig Senators of the State of New York, in defence of the rights | Calhounism is broken, and that the blackness of the free States, and maintenance of the prin-ciples and policy of the Whig party, and shat we tender our grateful thanks to those atembers of Congress who resisted with fixed filelity the breach of public faith involved is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Resolved, That by the act procuring the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, we hold that we are forever discharged from all obligations to support any compromise with Slavestitution of the United States; and most espe-cially that we are forever released from all obligations to admit into our Union any State which sanctions or permits Slavery.
"Resolved, That the recent action of Con

gress, stimulated and approved by the Presi ent, whereby the compact commonly k cown as the Missouri Compromise is repudiated, and the vast Territory known as Nebraské and Kansas opened to Slavery, has already ret sived the unqualified condemnation of the Whigs of New York, and we point with satisfaction and pride to the fact that not a single Whig er of either House of Congress from this or any other free State yielded any sort of sup- not exceed three hundred thousand, which is port, countenance, or favor, to that mos un

ust and unrighteous proceeding.

Resolved, That a measure so pervading and omentous in its scope and influence, so ritally affecting the reputation and destiny of our whole country, as the establishment or duction of Human Slavery throughout a pertion of the national domain larger than the old Thirteen States, can, with propriety, be referred to no tribunal less exacting and demanding than that composed of the whole American people; and we protest against its diversion, sovereignty,' from this august tribunal, to one composed of the few hundreds or thousands of equatters who may encamp in said Territory. squatters who may encamp in said ferritory, as a palpable dereliction from duty, under a pretext too flimsy to mislead any but those anxious to be deluded and eager to be led that the great majority of enterprising white "Resolved, That against the principles involv-

either to territory now belonging to the Union or hereafter to be acquired, the Whigs of New York will struggle with equal resolution and York will struggle with equal resolution and confidence, and confident resolution, and confident that they 'shall' not, and confidence that they 'cannot' receive the sanction of the American people, and in this struggle we invite to do in supplying the country with slaves. the co operation on terms of equality and fra- Mr. Wise, therefore, may console himself on ternity of all sincere and earnest champans of Free Labor and Free Soil. " Resolved, That the indications of a purpose

on the part of the champions of Slavery, made manifest through their recognised representatives, and countenanced as the organs of the slave trade, are sufficient to excite apprehension and alarm in the mind of every pitriot necessary to enslave a portion of the race on and every friend of humanity, and that the this continent, in order to teach them the vir-Whigs of New York take this timely opportutues of justice, humanity, and piety, and send nity to declare they will resist at every hezard. and to the last extremity, every effort to drag down this free Republic by such a step from the proud position which it holds among the | doing its duty? Is the South endeavoring to civilized and Christian nations of the catth, as carry out this ordination of Providence, by the first to prohibit that inhuman traffic, and

brand it as piracy.

"Resolved, That the Executive Department of the Federal Government ought no longer to | colored people in the United States have more be vested in the hands of the men who wield its | Christian civilization than all Africa. Well, patronage and its influence for the aggrandize- admit it; and we appeal to the cander of the ment of Slavery and its political power, and that the Whigs of New York will labor to effect the overthrow of the Administration which has proved so reckless to duty and so regardless of the rights and interests of the Union, law in Virginia to teach a colored man to read and to elect a President with whom fidelity to the Bible; and there is no law in Virginia, Freedom shall not be a perpetual disqualification for the public service."

We agree with the New York Evening Post,

that these resolves are in striking contrast with the pusillanimous mention of the Nebraska Bill adopted" by the late Soft Convention. "Had the resentment," says that paper, "felt by the People at the great wrong done to the North, been expressed with half the completeness, half the manly energy, which we find in the Whig resolutions, the triumph of the Democratic candidates at the approaching election would, in the opinion of many, have been scarcely doubtful." The Post adds-"Still, if we consider these resolutions as the expression of the feeling of our State on the general question of the legislation of Congress respecting Slavery, they are far from complete. Mr. Milliken. it will be seen, attempted to make them mere so, but without success. He presented resolutions denouncing the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, and was hissed down for his pains. It was not deemed politic by the Convention to touch that part of the question."

The first resolution affirms sound and important doctrine. The commendation bestowed volves a very erroneous concession. By assuming that the repeal of the Missouri Comprocise. This kind of slippery non-committalism is characteristic of New York politics.

The other resolutions are good, so far as Whigs of New York against the application

Would to Heaven that New York politician could speak in a clear, unambiguous, bold, and direct style!

Mr. Wise, of Virginia, has written a singular letter, on the subject of Slavery, to a Reverend Mr. Adams, of Boston, which reflects credit on a Virginia politician of the present day. It seems that his reverend correspondent has been spending some months in the South, and his Northern prejudices have been much shaken by seeing Slavery as it is. We are not aware that his reverence has any design of removing South, or that he is expecting "a call' to a cure of souls in the region of cotton; but certain it is, that in a moral point of view, he is undergoing a rapid acclimation; so that, if he should be invited, he can accept without scruple. Being anxiously exercised in mind, he has addressed a letter of inquiry to Mr. Wise. as to a father in Israel, and that gentleman has responded in a long letter, which finds its way to the public through the columns of that organ of pure Democracy, the Washington There is scarcely a sentence in the letter

we are highly pleased with it, since it indicates a great revulsion in the public sentiment of the South. It indicates that the spell of of darkness which was engendered by his genius is passing away. This is all. The philosophy of the letter is bad enough. The attempt to justify Slavery, and to palliate its evils, like all similar attempts, is a miserable failure. Mr. Wise, in substance, admits that Slavery is not a blessing-in fact, that it is a sore curse to Virginia and to the South; and he is inconsolable that the short-sighted folly of the Abolitionists prevented the admission of the institution into California, since the gold mines would have drawn off the slaves from Virginia, and from the whole South, and have concentrated them on the shores of the Pacific. We thank Mr. Wise for this admission of the evils of Slavery, but we cannot believe that its extension to California would have been the means of its abolition. California has now been open to free men for six years since the gold discoveries, and yet the population will less than the natural increase of our slaves. If Slavery had been tolerated, it is not probable that fifty thousand would have been there at this time, and we greatly doubt if the institution would have had more than a nominal existence, unless at the same time free laborers had been legislated out of the State. There pever was any great repugnance to Slavery in California, and we have no doubt that it would have been introduced if it had been found profitable. But the great distance, with the expense of transporting slaves to California, and the hazards attending the business of men who go to California are disappointed, and would return if they could. The same crable numbers. Young men go to California by thousands, from curiosity and the love of this head, and look to other means of getting

meddling with the arrangements of Providence. Slavery, he says, was ordained by Providence, for the Christianization of Africa, and it was them forth as missionaries to the fatherland. Now, admitting that this is true, is the South | ters to take their slaves to the gold mines." educating and civilizing the negro? Mr. Wise boasts that the three and a half millions of gentleman, if that Christianity and civilization have not been acquired by the negroes in violation of Southern laws? It is punishable by common or statute, which recognises the relation of matrimony between slaves, or that will protect the voluntary union of the sexes. Any man in Virginia who owns a slave, or has money enough to buy one, may tear asunder the most sacred family ties of husband and wife, or parent and child. Who runs counter to Providence—the man who upholds or the forty-eight slaves, who will be sent to Liberia man who opposes this system? Will Mr. Wise

Slavery the merit of civilizing and Christian- slaves similarly connected, who will be liberaizing the negro, is as if the betrayers and oru- ted by different persons, to accompany those of cifiers of Christ should boast of saving the Mr. Herndon. Mr. Thaddeus Herndon will world. They did evil, and good has come of it, also send out a family of eight slaves at the and that is all that they can claim. God in same time, if the requisite amount of money his wisdom and goodness always contrives to is raised for the purpose. Their owners are thwart evil-doers, by turning their actions to unable to give them anything besides their good account. But it would have been better if evil had never been committed. Evil is an abuse of the freedom of the will. God gives the free will, because without it there could be no virtue; but he under all circumstances forbids evil-doiog, and never fails to punish the

Now, to show that Slavery was not essential to the salvation of Africa, let us suppose that the world had been so enlightened, Christianmise releases the People from all obligation to ized, and free, at the time of the discovery of support any compromise with Slavery, not America, that the clave trade could not be written in the Constitution, it concedes that tolerated. The consequence would have been, were it not for this repeal, such compromises that the institution would never have existed would be binding upon them. No true Anti- in any part of America. Our intercourse with Slavery man will place his opposition to the the Indians would have been regulated on the aggressions of Slavery upon any such ground same high principles, and they, too, would as this. Had not the Missouri Compromise have been civilized. Our Northern States are been repealed, there would have been no more now far more populous than the Southern; but obligatory force in extra-Constitutional com- if all had been alike free, all would have been promises with Slavery than there is now. But, alike prosperous and populous, and our sum the resolution not only makes a bad con- total of wealth and population would far excession; it really points to no positive action. | ceed its present amount. Our legitimate comceesion; it really points to no positive action.

It affirms a right, but not a duty. It claims that the People are not bound to receive any than it now is, and our example of justice and for eight years. The Post contends that cheap more slave States into the Union; but it does humanity could not have failed to make a pro- coal is as important and necessary for the great not affirm that they are bound, not to receive found impression upon the natives; and misany more slave States. It recognises a cer. sionaries, enlightened and holy men, would tain right in them, but is silent as to its exer. have been tenfold more numerous than they now are, and their example and teaching would not, under the supposed state of things, have been counteracted by the villany and violence so many years of heavy protection, the miners they go, but the defect is, that they pledge of the slave trade, with all its attendant crimes. of this country cannot furnish its demand for nobody to any particular course of action, if Other nations, too, must have carried on an coal, take off the duty, and let in the foreign we except the last resolution, which commits extensive legitimate trade, and have sent out article. What is wanted, is, not protection, civilizing is fluences in proportion. Can it be but competition. Subject the coal capitalists of the principles of the Nebraska Bil to ter. doubted that such influences would have been to free competition, and they will be satisfied is rather in the nature of a tenant of land, ritory now belonging to the United States, or better calculated to civilize Africa than the with moderate profits. At all events, let the a steward or manager of other property, than

issued from Spain or Portugal in the fifteenth

But, it will be said, we have supposed what could not exist. Not at all. We have only One class of them read in the past history supposed a state of things which must exist when the slave trade and Slavery are abolished throughout the world. When nations become too enlightened, too just, and too humane, to tolerate these evils, then the benignant influences of Christianity will go forth with a hundred times their present force; and the spread of the Gospel and of civilization will seem to bation in a state of Slavery—a probation which make almost miraculous progress over the

There can be no doubt that Slavery in the United States is now the greatest clog upon the progress of Christianity, with all its healthful and renovating influences. But for this giant wrong in this powerful Republic, the evil could not last five years in any part of the Western hemisphere. Our example of republican institutions would have tenfold more influence, and our Protestant Christianity, cooperating with that of England, the other which cannot perceive a wide distinction be great commercial nation, would diffuse its tween the circumstances which surround us of influence over the remotest corners of the

wish of Mr. Wise's heart; and no one can that "manifest destiny" points to the restora doubt, after reading it, that he regards Slavery Mr. Wise to which we can subscribe; and yet as a grievous burden to Virginia, however highly its blessings should be estcemed by the is evidently "father to the thought," as there

> tion, and to the true policy of the States at home, I would especially prohibit by law the future emigration of the free colored population Hebrew people hears a faint resemblance to from our slave to our free States. Dr. Drake the case of the colored race on this continent was right in his views of our laws driving away the free negroes to the free States. It has been enslavement, by dissimilar nations. But the one of the most baneful causes of abolitionism in Hebrew exodus was a grand miracle, which

> "I agree they cannot remain very long in the slave States. The end will be, that they must accept the terms of colonization, and go and, after all, their migration was only a few on the mission designed for them in Africa or elsewhere. Where else can they go? What

else could have been done? "This question brings me to call your attention to one golden opportunity which was lost by that very blindness of fanaticism which al- and leaders, in the name of Heaven, constrain ways betrays itself and defeats its own ends. California was the theatre for a grand develop-ment of this subject. To have allowed her gold mines to be worked by slaves would have produced a marked revolution. Every corn field in Virginia, and North Carolina, in Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Kentucky, would have been emptied of black laborors, and I doubt whether many slaves would have been left to work the cotton and any angle of the contrary field no such obligation of duty, or allurement of interest. The great mass of them are in reconcilably opposed to African colonization, and cherish a tenacious love of their native soil. Like the Americans of Caucasian origin, work the cotton and sugar estates of the other Southern plantations. This would not have the limits of our own country and continent added a single slave to the number now in being. but they have no idea as a general thing. It would not have diffused slave power, but would rather have concentrated the slaves all comparatively in one State, and thus have weakened its federal strength in the Union ; and five years of their labor in the gold mines would have enriched masters so that they could more to people the West Indies, Mexico, and Cenably emancipate them at the end of that time, than they could now sell them for a full market price; and when emancipated, there was all vate the immense, fertile, but, for white men Polynesia—all the islest of the Pacific—before insalubrious plains which border the Guif c them for colonization in the pleasantest places Mexico, in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alafor them on earth! Oh! what a mighty op-portunity was there lost for the workings of a great philanthropy, for a humanity without harm! And what was gained? Why, the Georgia and the Carolinas? Would the Quir. demoralization of hundreds of thousands of whites by the accursed thirst and hunt for Hayti, Cuba, and Jamaica, to say nothing of gold, such as threatens to bring down ashes from Heaven to mingle with the dust of Mammeant, may be, that the African should not be demoralized by the dust-hunt, but should still adventure-a cause which could have nothing be taught to sow and plant, and plough and reap, the crops of mother earth, and be trained look for unmixed good from it in its tendence to the mechanic arts, and be prepared to peo- to spread civilization and Christianity over Afple Africa-Africa, not the isles of the Asiatics-for the African! I console myself with that, and that is the best solace-looking to God always, and especially to correct and pre- self-governing power of the colored race. These vent the mischief of many wrongs done by the violent Californian outrage. Slavery out of the the colonization enterprise; and if it had alquestion, our Constitution and form of Governent were stricken the most fatal stab ever yet felt in our history, by the military induction into the Union of that Mammon State. The severest blow at Slavery in the United States which abolitionists could have given, would have been to offer bounties even to mas-

tors of the Boston Commonwealth have been obliged to sell the establishment. Since its their field of operations, they would have been enlargement, it is said, it has been a losing far more successful. concern. The discontinuance of this paper, and lately of the Philadelphia Register, an- continent towards the tropics seems to be one other Anti-Slavery daily, shows the disastrous of the clearest manifestations of "destiny, effect of the hard times on our cause.

become proprietors of the establishment of the of this truth. Every decennial period exhibits Commonwealth, propose to issue an evening a marked recession of the slaves from the paper, to be called the Evening Telegraph, more northern latitudes, and shows the centre evoted to Temperance, Human Freedom, and of slave population to be constantly removing

Protestantism. SLAVES LIBERATED .- The Rev. T. D. Herndon, his wife and two sisters, have liberated in November. They will be accompanied by eight free colored persons, who are connected For the champions of Slavery to claim for with them by marriage, and by seven other freedom and an outfit, and the Colonization Society has undertaken to raise the means of sending them to Liberia.

In order to meet the emergency, the Secretary, Mr. McLain, sent to 426 of his friends a statement of the case, with a call upon them for ten dollars each, by which means he proposed to raise the requisite amount of 4,260 dollars. We learn that more than three hundred have responded handsomely.

THE TARIFF ON COAL .- The N. York Post n the course of an article urging the repeal of the duty on coal, states that in 1824, when the anthracite from Pennsylvania was beginning to take the place of the bituminous coal imported from abroad, a tax of six cents on the heaped bushel was laid, for the benefit of capitalists in the United States, on all coal imported from abroad. This was quietly borne for eighteen years—the compromise law of 1833 having effected no reduction of this duty previous to the year 1842. In 1842 a still heavier duty was imposed—that of \$1.75 a ton. In 1846, when the mitigated tariff was adopted, a mass of the people as cheap postage.

Balt. Sun.

And the Post is right. Petitions are now in circulation for a removal of the duty on coal. Let them be circulated far and wide. If, after

and apologists of Slavery are ar phrase, " manifest destiny, the country the indefinite future extension Slavery southward, and, as they fondly lieve, its perpetuity. Another class are equal ly confident in the opinion, and equally deg. matical in its assertion, that the whole near race in America is destined to be transported back to Africa, after serving out a long pro they hold to be providentially designed for the civilization of the negro, and therefore consis ent with religion and morality. There can be no denving that it has I

our destiny, thus far, to extend the curse of

Slavery, and the perpetualists have this fact

sustain their theory. But it is a shallow phi losophy which can see in the future nothing but a succession of events similar to the which have passed within our own recolletion : as it is a narrow range of observation the present day, and those which have hither to caused the spread of Slavery. The theory of the pro-slavery colonizationist, which insis tion of the whole colored race to Africa, is still less supported by reason or analogy. The wish is no fact in the whole history of mankind which will warrant so far-fetched a copele sion. The general migration or exodus of th has been the wonder of ages. The Hebrew hundred miles, to a land "flowing with milk and honey." Its remarkable beauty and fer tility incited the cupidity of the people, whil and leaders, in the name of Heaven, constrain ed their consciences in the same direction. The they have no repugnance to emigration within but they have no idea, as a general thing o going to Africa.

Besides, there is room enough, as well as a imperative demand for the colored people on the continent and islands of America. Who tral America? Who is to inhabit and cold vate the immense, fertile, but, for white mer bama, and Florida? And who is to make rice and cotton, and cut lumber in the lowlands e statement of it is enough to expose it to deris

ion and contempt. no disapprobation of African Colonization, We the Liberian Republic has furnished to the on these grounds, there can be no doubt that its popularity in the free States, where it is chiefly supported, would have been far greater. Its chief value is as an auxiliary of the

missionary cause. onizationists consists in confining their efforts Hayti, Jamaica, and the other free West India Islands, with Mexico and Central America, in

The tendency of the colored people of this Mesers. Williams, Morse, & Co., who have of the slave population will satisfy any one southward. That the free colored people are not found to be going in the same direction is owing to the fact that they are repelled b laws as unjust and cruel in their nature as they are rigorous in their application. Universal emancipation, by removing these unnatural restraints, would at once exhibit the natural affinity of the colored people for southern latitudes; and the demand for labor in that section would be supplied by their voluntary migration. They would thus become, as people, separated from the whites-they would constitute the laboring class, as they do at present, but with the difference of being free and contented, and with the privilege of rising to wealth and distinction.

> These things are coming. There is no bely for it. Freedom would concentrate the colored race in the tropical regions of the South, by the laws of political economy which govern the demand and supply of labor. But Slavery is doing the same thing, and can only prolong

and retard the process. The black population of the South is now three and a half millions; that of the West ladies is some two and a half millions; Brazil contains some three other millions-making at least nine millions altogether. They are all either within the tropical regions, or tending thitherward; they readily harmonize and amalgamate with the other races, Indian or Spaniard, or both; and it were folly to doubt that they will one day form a great, powerful, homogeneous people, or that, aided by the liberty-loving public opinion of Europe and the more northern States of America, they will be

able to throw off the yoke of Slavery. The institution of Slavery is at war with th principles of political economy, as it is with to ligion and justice. It is barbarous in its origin, and therefore transient in its nature. It anti-social, and must therefore fall before the onward progress of Christian civilization.

Slavery, as it exists in the United States, incompatible with a dense population. It entirely different from the political slavery of serfdom of Europe and Asia, ancient and modern. The latter makes the serf responsible for his own maintenance, and exacts of him certain stipulated dues. His obligation to his lord